



# CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN DEBATES

Wednesday, the 14th October, 1953

## OFFICIAL REPORT

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## CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

*Wednesday, the 14th October, 1953*

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met in the Assembly Chamber, Karachi, at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Mr. Tamizuddin Khan) in the Chair.

### REPORT OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES COMMITTEE—(Continued)

**Mr. Prem Hari Barma** (East Bengal : General) : Sir, I had not any intention to take part in the discussion of the Report of the Basic Principles Committee, but some honourable members opposite expressed the view that the Muslim League Party want to give separate electorate to the minorities because the Scheduled Castes want separate electorate. Sir, I want to categorically deny this. The Scheduled Castes never wanted separate electorate; they want joint electorate with reservation of seats for them on population basis. We are four representatives belonging to the Scheduled Castes in this Constituent Assembly and we are as much true representatives of the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal as Muslim members of East Bengal are true representatives of the Muslims of East Bengal. If we do not represent the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal, then the Muslim Members of the Constituent Assembly also do not represent the Muslims of East Bengal. Sir, out of the four Scheduled Castes members of the Constituent Assembly, two i.e., Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal and myself, are in the Opposition and two, Mr. A. K. Das and Mr. D. Roy, in the League Parliamentary Party. Now, may I ask : "Do the two Scheduled Caste Members who belong to the Muslim League Parliamentary Party want separate electorates?" No. They also want joint electorate for the Scheduled Castes with reservation of seats on population basis. Had these honourable members wanted separate electorates, the honourable members belonging to the Muslim League Party could have said that the Scheduled Castes are not unanimous in their demand for joint electorate. Honourable Mr. Abdul Hamid said that they were receiving numerous resolutions from the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal demanding separate electorate. I am sure, if they have got any such resolutions from any part of East Bengal, those resolutions must have been inspired by persons who echo the voice not of the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal but the voice of those belonging to the majority community who cannot openly demand separate electorate for the majority community, but want to put this demand in the mouth of some Scheduled Castes who represent not the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal but represent themselves.

**The Honourable Mr. Abdul Hamid** (East Bengal : Muslim) : No, no.

**Mr. Prem Hari Barma** : Sir, the Constitution of Pakistan must be framed in accordance with the majority opinion of the members present here and not by any and every opinion or resolution passed in different parts of Pakistan. The Members of the Constituent Assembly will express their opinion here in accordance with the opinion expressed from their Constituencies. We are four Scheduled Caste Members here in the Constituent Assembly. We come from different parts of East Bengal. Mr. B. C. Mandal comes from Faridpur, Mr. D. Roy from Dacca, Mr. A. K. Das from Sylhet and I come from Dinajpur. We are all of this unanimous opinion that there should be joint electorate with reservation of seats on population basis for the Scheduled Castes. You cannot ignore this unanimous opinion of ours. If we the four Scheduled

[Mr. Prem Hari Barma]

Caste members of the Constituent Assembly do not represent the views of the Scheduled Castes, how can the Muslim Members of the League can claim to represent the views of the Muslims of Pakistan because all the members of the Constituent Assembly were elected on the same principle of election. There was not one principle of election for the Muslim Members and quite a different principle of election for the non-Muslim members. There are many Muslims in the country who do not hold the same views as Muslim League Members do.

**The Honourable Mr. Abdul Hamid:** Their number is very large.

**Mr. Prem Hari Barma:** Can it therefore be said that the Muslim League Members do not represent the views of the Musalmans of Pakistan?

Sir, this demand of joint electorate with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes is the unanimous demand of the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal will be fully demonstrated by the statement of the leaders of Scheduled Castes issued on the 8th March, 1952 and published in the *Hindustan Standard* of 10th March, 1952. The signatories to the statement and their representative character are these:

Mr. Rasaraj Mandal, Secretary, East Bengal Scheduled Castes' Federation (*Ad Hoc* Committee) and President, Dacca District Scheduled Castes' Federation (*Ad Hoc* Committee); Sri Raj Kumar Mandal, B.L., President, Pirojpur Sub-divisional Scheduled Castes' Federation; Sri Upendra Nath Edbar, M.A., B.L., *ex-M.L.A.* (Barisal), Member, Working Committee, Pirojpur Sub-divisional Scheduled Castes' Federation; Dr. Sanjiban Chandra Das, Secretary, Dacca District Scheduled Castes' Federation (*Ad Hoc* Committee) and Member, Dacca District Board.

They have issued the following statement:

"The Pakistan Constituent Assembly meets on 20th March, 1952 when after four years' deliberations, it is likely to take a very important decision regarding the system of electorate for purposes of the next general elections to the East Bengal Legislative Assembly and for future elections to the Provincial and Central Legislatures of Pakistan. We, therefore, consider it necessary to reiterate once again the standing resolution of the East Bengal Scheduled Castes' Federation, which runs as follows:

"In view of that the Constitution of the independent Sovereign Pakistan is going to be framed very shortly, the Working Committee of the Scheduled Castes' Federation (E. B.) feel to express its views regarding some fundamental and important aspects of the Constitution with special reference to their implications so far as the political interests of the Scheduled Castes are concerned."

"This Committee believes in the principles of democracy based on equality, social justice and freedom of religion. It hopes and trusts that the Constitution will make provision for universal adult franchise.

"Being conscious of the political, economic and educational backwardness of the Scheduled Castes people of Pakistan, this Committee, after giving its most earnest and careful consideration to their special position and requirement for their growth and all round development, it is strongly of opinion that the Scheduled Castes of Pakistan fairly deserve special and adequate safeguards to be provided for them in the Constitution of free Pakistan. The considered opinion of this Committee is that all possible steps be taken to help the growth of nationhood.

"In view, therefore, of the changed conditions and circumstances after the attainment of independence, this Committee is of opinion that there should be joint electorate with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes in the Central and the Provincial Legislatures on the basis of their population."

The meeting of the Working Committee which passed the above resolution was presided over by the then President of the Federation and attended by Shri D. N. Barori, and by all other M.L.A.s belonging to the Federation and over 300 delegates representing different districts of East Bengal. After the passing of the said resolution, all memorandums presented to different representatives of the Government of Pakistan invariably reiterated the demand of joint electorate with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes. The joint memorandum submitted in March, 1951 by the minority M.L.A.s of East Bengal demanding joint electorate with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes to the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, was signed by Shri D. N. Barori and all other M.L.A.s of the Federation.

"We do, therefore, draw the attention of the members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, our countrymen in general, and the scheduled castes in particular, that a handful of persons have no right to undo the resolution of the Federation in favour of joint electorate irrespective of caste or creed with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes. We do like to make it perfectly clear that the Scheduled Caste people of East Bengal consider the right of joint electorate with reservation of seats for them as the very essence of their freedom and shall refuse to be governed by any person or party that shall refuse to seek the votes of the Scheduled Castes for running the future Government of Pakistan.

"We do, therefore, very sincerely and earnestly appeal to the members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, particularly to those belonging to the majority community, to give a very serious consideration to the demand of the Federation, viz., joint electorate with reservation of seats for scheduled castes which alone can make a better and prosperous Pakistan where, to quote our beloved Quaid-i-Azam "politically Hindus shall cease to be Hindus and Muslims shall cease to be Muslims and both will form parts of a great nation."

"We hope they will recognise that the advocacy of friendship with Muslims and the demand for separation from Muslims in electorate are expressions of contradictory philosophies and those who advocate both to blow hot and cold in the same breath."

Sir, this is the statement issued by the leaders of Scheduled Castes representing different Scheduled Caste organisations. From this statement it is quite clear that Mr. D. N. Barori, who is now a protagonist for separate electorate was for joint electorate before he became a Minister of East Bengal. This change of opinion of Mr. D. N. Barori just after his becoming a Minister is really surprising and this sudden change of opinion naturally makes one to doubt whether he expresses his own independent views or whether he expresses the views as a Minister of the East Bengal Government. I think we should not be wrong to conclude that Mr. D. N. Barori's opinion for separate electorate is not really his own independent opinion but is the opinion of the Government of which he is a member and what he says now he says as a Minister.

Sir, I want to place before the House the contents of an appeal which was made by nine Scheduled Caste members of the East Bengal Assembly and a copy of which was sent to me as I was a member of the Franchise Committee and Committee for Minorities. This was signed by Mr. Mukunda Behari Mallick, M.L.A., an ex-Minister of undivided Bengal; Mr. Haranchandra Barma, M.L.A.; Mr. Negendra Narayan Ray, M.L.A., ex-Minister of undivided Bengal; Mr. Jogendra Chandra Das, M.L.A., General Secretary, Scheduled Castes' Federation; Mr. Monohar Dhal, M.L.A.; Mr. Dwarkanath Barori, M.L.A. and now Minister of East Bengal, Mr. Gayanath Biswas, M.L.A.; Mr. Lalit Kumar Bal, M.L.A.,

[Mr. Prem Hari Barma]

and Mr. Bholanath Biswas, M.L.A. Sir, the contents of the appeal are these :—

“Dear Sir|Madam,

You are surely aware of the fact that the constitution of the Independent Sovereign Pakistan is going to be moulded very shortly and the metal is being already on the anvil. Different sub-committees have been set up by the Constituent Assembly to carefully examine the various interests vitally linked up with the Pakistani national life and to make a comprehensive report thereof. It is an undisputed fact that the backward Scheduled Castes from the bulk of the minorities in Pakistan and it will not be an exaggeration to say that they have made some definite contributions in bringing Pakistan into existence. It is needless to say that the vigorous and untiring activities of the then Bengal Provincial Scheduled Castes Federation in helping the Muslim League and the League Government to maintain communal harmony in Bengal in the very critical days prior to partition, its outstanding contribution in bringing Sylhet into Pakistan and to secure as much territory as possible for Pakistan by presenting memorandum before the Radcliffe Boundary Commission, will go down in history. So it is quite natural and not at all unbecoming of the Scheduled Castes to hope that their political aspirations will be fully realised here and proper safeguards will be provided for them in the future set-up of the new Constitution. And in consideration of the backwardness of the Scheduled Castes in all spheres of life, the Working Committee of the East Bengal Scheduled Castes Federation in its two-day session on the 1st and 2nd November, 1949 has passed a unanimous resolution demanding joint electorates with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes on population basis.

2. We, the members of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly belonging to the Scheduled Castes Federation, therefore, appeal to all political bodies, specially the Members of the Constituent Assembly and the members of the Minorities sub-committee, to see that opinion expressed in the resolution of the Working Committee of the East Bengal Scheduled Castes Federation be embodied in the Constitution.

3. In view of the fact that the Constitution of the Independent Sovereign Pakistan is going to be framed very shortly, the Working Committee of the East Bengal Scheduled Castes Federation feel called upon to express its views regarding some fundamental and important aspects of the Constitution with special reference to their implications so far as the political interests of the Scheduled Castes are concerned.

This Committee believes in the principle of democracy based on equality, social justice and freedom of religion. It hopes and trusts that the Constitution will make provision for universal adult franchise.

Being conscious of the political, economic and educational backwardness of the Scheduled Castes people of Pakistan, this Committee after giving its most earnest and careful consideration to their special position and requirement for their healthy growth and all-round development, is strongly of opinion that the Scheduled Castes of Pakistan fairly deserve special and adequate safeguards to be provided for them in the Constitution of free Pakistan. The considered opinion of this Committee is that all possible steps should be taken to help the healthy growth of nationhood.

In view, therefore, of the changed conditions and circumstances after the attainment of independence, this Committee is of opinion that there should be joint electorate with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes in the Central and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of their population.”

Sir, is it not as clear as day-light what is the opinion of the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal expressed through their representatives in the East Bengal Assembly ?

These Scheduled Caste M.L.A.s are representatives of most of the major Scheduled Caste communities of East Bengal. Sir, I belong to the Rajbanshi community of North Bengal and Mr. Nagindra Narayan Roy, M.L.A. and *ex*-Minister of undivided Bengal and Mr. Rajani Kante Roy, M.L.A., also belong to this Rajbanshi community. We are of the opinion that we want joint electorate. It should also be mentioned here that our community is one of the largest Scheduled Caste communities of Pakistan. After the clear-cut opinion of the representatives of the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal as expressed in the joint statement and the appeal which I have placed before the House just now, is there any shadow of doubt that the unanimous opinion of the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal is for joint electorate with reservation of seats on population basis?

Sir, I must also point out that two of the signatories—Mr. Lalit Chandra Bal and Mr. Haran Chandra Barman—subsequently changed their opinion and wanted separate electorate. Here also I doubt whether these two gentlemen gave their independent views when they expressed opinions for separate electorate. We doubt their change of opinion because one Mr. Haran Chandra Barman was sent by Government as a Delegate to U. N. O. and another, *i.e.*, Mr. Lalit Chandra Bal was sent as a Government Delegate to the U. N. O. held in Paris.

Sir, the Scheduled Castes are an integral part of the great Hindu community. Their language and culture and religion are the same. If you introduce separate electorate, you will put a wedge into the Hindu community and divide it. You have no right to interfere with the social life of the great Hindu community and if you do this you will clearly violate the provision of the Objectives Resolution which says:—

“Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association subject to law and public morality;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes.”

Sir, if separate electorate is provided for the minorities, there will be a clear violation of those provisions of the Objectives Resolution.

Sir, the East Bengal Minorities Conference was held at Comilla on the 11th and 12th March, 1952 and it was presided over by a Scheduled Caste, Mr. Rajkumar Mandal, Pleader. In that Conference out of a total of 500 Delegates more than 300 Scheduled Caste delegates from districts of East Bengal and representing almost all the Scheduled Caste communities of East Bengal attended. In that Conference, among others the following resolutions were passed. The third resolution which demands joint electorate runs as follows:—

“Separate representation on communal basis is anti-nation and anti-thesis of democracy which is the essence of freedom. To divide the national life of a country into water-communal compartments is to strike at the root of democracy. Separate electorate stimulates communal loyalties at the expense of national solidarity.

“Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah as first President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly set up the noble idea of Pakistan in the clearest possible language as follows:

‘We are starting the State with no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, between caste and creed. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are citizens and equal

[Mr. Prem Hari Barma]

citizens of one State. We should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as the citizens of the Nation.'

"The Universal Declaration on Human Rights by the United Nations' Organisation that every citizen of a State has right to take part in the Government of the country has been accepted by Pakistan as a member-State.

"With a view to achieve integration of the different national elements into one organic whole, to minimise the religious and communal differences to promote outlook of secular commonsense, to deeply implant the universal ideas of human rights in the mind of the people and to awaken in the Pakistanis, irrespective of caste, creed, religion and community, a consciousness of common citizenship and common national tie and in the interests of the State and also for the welfare of the minorities living in the State, this Conference of the Minorities of East Bengal demands that there should be Joint Electorate without any reservation of seats for any community except on the ground of backwardness, in all elective bodies including Central and Provincial Legislatures, but that if any section of the people irrespective of caste, creed or religion demands reservation of seats on the ground of backwardness, reservation may be made for a maximum period of ten years.

"As such a demand has already been made by the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal on the ground of backwardness, reservation of seats on population basis shall be granted to them for ten years.

"This Conference is also of opinion that if such reservation of seats be demanded by the Buddhists on the ground of backwardness it should also be granted to them."

The fourth resolution is an appeal to the majority community and it runs thus:

"This Conference invites the sympathy and active co-operation of the Majority Community to its main resolution for the introduction of joint electorate with reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and other backward communities for ten years."

Sir, the seventh resolution condemns the move for separate electorate by a handful of Scheduled Castes and runs as follows:—

"This conference strongly condemns the attempt made by a handful of Scheduled Caste leaders to create unit of Separate Electorate for Scheduled Castes and urges upon the people to resist such a sinister and suicidal move and also requests the Members of the Constituent Assembly to reject forthwith such a proposal."

Sir, the eighth resolution passed contains a general no-confidence motion on Hon'ble Mr. D. N. Barori. It is as follows:—

"It was one of the terms of the Delhi Agreement that a minority Minister enjoying the confidence of the minorities should be taken as a Minister in the East Bengal Cabinet. In accordance with the above terms of the Agreement Honourable Sri Dwaraka Nath Barori became a Minister of the Government of East Bengal, but it is a matter of regret that, of late, Honourable Sri Dwarka Nath Barori has been making sinister attempts to divide the citizens of Pakistan and also to create hatred between Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus.

"On the 9th of March last, a Conference of the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal was to be held at the village Subbadya in the district of Dacca. But Honourable Sri Barori went to the meeting and had it dispersed with the help of armed police. Honourable Barori has been misusing his power as a Minister, and his prejudicial activities have become positively harmful not only to the interests of the minorities but also to the solidarity of Pakistan and as such he has forfeited their confidence. This Conference, therefore, strongly condemns his activities and expresses no-confidence in him and demands his dismissal immediately and requests the Government of East Bengal to take a Minister in his place from the Scheduled Castes enjoying the confidence of the minorities.

"Let copies of this resolution be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan, His Excellency the Governor of East Bengal, Honourable Premier Janab Nurul Amin and also to Honourable Shri D. N. Barori."



Sir, what I have stated and placed before the Honourable Members of the House will clearly demonstrate that the Scheduled Castes of East Bengal demand joint electorate with reservation of seats on population basis. I hope the House will not ignore this unanimous demand of the Scheduled Castes and the minorities of East Bengal and I appeal to the Hon'ble Prime Minister and the Hon'ble Members belonging to the majority community not to flout the unanimous opinion of the Scheduled Castes and minorities if they really have sympathy and good wishes for the Scheduled Castes and also for the other minority communities of Pakistan.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** (East Bengal : Muslim) : Mr. President! Sir, it is and it must be admitted on all hands that constitution-making is a difficult task. It is more so in the case of Pakistan because of the fact that the very emergence of Pakistan on the map of the world has baffled most of the best brains of the world.

This State has been achieved not on the ground of having merely a homeland for the Muslims or on the ground to have some territory of their own, but on the distinct understanding and appreciation of an ideology which was and is so dear and near to every Muslim. It was this assurance given by those who exhorted the hundred millions of Muslims of Pak-Indian sub-continent which attracted them to this freedom fight. There was no need for a special appeal in the name of ideology; in the name of Islam if it was merely to shake off the foreign yoke and achieve freedom as it was done in several other countries by a subject-nation. There was a freedom movement all over the country—in this sub-continent of India—but there were two prongs; there were two distinct principles and two distinct ideologies that were fighting against the foreign rule. While the common factor with the Muslim League and the Congress was the achievement of freedom, the special consideration that the Muslim League put to the fight was the Islamic ideology. That factor cannot be given a go-by now after having achieved Pakistan.

Sir, it is said that it has taken six long years to come to this stage when the very principles of the constitution are being discussed but it must also be realised that it was not an easy task for those who were entrusted with suggesting the principles on which the constitution of Pakistan should be framed. After all, what is a constitution? Constitution embodies the ideas, the ideals, the aspirations and the goal of the nation. A constitution, unlike a piece of legislation does not claim to put all its ideals, aspirations and the goal to practice the very next day. Constitution is framed not only for the present generation but for the generations to come and the ideal, the aspirations, the goal which are fixed by the very principles incorporated in the foundation, are to be realised and are to be achieved gradually. That factor has got to be into consideration in dealing with the various principles incorporated in this report. Those who have associated with this report did not claim, can never claim, that this is the last word that has been placed before them. In the light of discussion, in the light of good advice and counsel, certain suggestions which are incorporated in the report may be amended, excluded, or substituted. But nevertheless the very fundamental principles on which this state of Pakistan has been built, has been founded, cannot be given a go-by. Criticisms have been levelled from all sides, from all fronts. Some of the critics suggested that this report should be rejected lock, stock and barrel. Some said : "Well! This is too such Islamic." Some others said : "It is un-Islamic and un-democratic;"—the two hackneyed terms that we are used to hear since the publication of the Interim Report in 1950. Well! everybody is at liberty

[The Hon'ble Mr. Nurul Amin.]

to have his views about democracy and Islam and, therefore, there may be a difference of opinion as to which principles is democratic and which is not ; which is Islamic and which is not.

There have been only two voices in the entire country which have characterised this Report as fraud. One is from Mr. D. N. Dutta and the other is from Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq. Both of them have characterised it as a fraud.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Datta** (East Bengal : General) : I have been classed with very high personage.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin** : I have bracketed you and Mr. Fazlul Haq together.

Sir, Mr. Dutta says that this is a fraud because some decisions have been taken by the party in *purdah*, and the members of the Constituent Assembly as a whole, had no chance to participate in that discussion. For that reason he thinks the report to be a fraud on this Assembly. His counterpart in East Bengal says that this is a fraud on a confiding community. Sir, so far as Mr. Dutta's charge is concerned it must be admitted that Pakistan was achieved on a fight started and brought to conclusion by the national organisation of the Muslims of Pak-Indian sub-continent, which is known as the Muslim League. The contribution of the Muslim League, the services of the Muslim League in this freedom fight cannot be too much emphasized. The history will bear it out and the services of that band of workers who came under the banner of the Muslim League will be written in letters of gold in history. It were they, the torch-bearers of Islam, who brought Pakistan into being against very powerful opposition—opposition from abroad ; opposition at home. The Muslim League is the organisation or you may call it a party now, which has a right to give a constitution according to its own idea, according to its own ideology, to the country, to the people. It is their claim that they have achieved Pakistan—none else.

Now, other people have come as co-sharers. Those who were opposed to the Muslim League, those who opposed Pakistan movement, they come and suggest, "Do this and do that." Sir, so far as constitution-making is concerned, this is the responsibility of the Muslim League. They have brought Pakistan from the dreamland to the land of reality and they are bound to give the people a constitution of their own ideology. It is their claim. I yield to none in this matter that so far as the constitution goes, the Muslim League must contribute largely in its framing because it is in their heads, in their brain, in their best services which constitute the very ideology on which the fight was launched and fought and was won.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Datta** : Who drove the Britishers out ?

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin** : This constitution is going to be Islamic but some say it is derogatory to Islam ; some say, our country's name will go down in foreign countries. Different people have got different ideas about Islam. I have no quarrel with them, because those who are outside the pale of Islam may have genuine apprehensions as they have not seen real Islam at work in this country. Some of those who are Muslims, and I include myself amongst those who have drifted from real Islam, have also got the same apprehension but one fact must be realised that the constitution which enjoins the Islamic characteristic has not come as a surprise to the people of Pakistan. They had this

warning since the Pakistan fight was lodged because we find that people before partition had been warned by the speeches of Quaid-i-Azam and all other leaders who participated in Pakistan fight in very clear terms what the shape of things was going to be in Pakistan. What sort of constitution it will be. Not that after the achievement of Pakistan this idea has been picked up and something which seems to be a bit retrograde has been put in in the constitution, it is not like that. I will, Sir, give one or two quotations from Quaid-i-Azam's speech in 1943, while he was speaking in the Delhi session of the All-India Muslim League. He said, "the constitution of Pakistan can only be framed by the Millat and the people. Prepare yourselves and see that you frame a constitution which is to your heart's desire". He was addressing the Muslim League Council, Sir. "There is a lot of misunderstanding. A lot of mischief is created. Is it going to be an Islamic Government? Is it not begging the question?", he says. Sir, mark the words; I underline these words. "Is it going to be an Islamic Government" and he says, "is it not begging the question?" Is it not a question of passing a vote of censure on yourself. The constitution and the Government will be what the people will decide. The only question is that of minorities. The minorities are entitled to get a definite assurance or ask, "where do we stand in Pakistan, that you visualize?" And the Pakistan as visualized by our beloved leader, Quaid-i-Azam, was an Islamic State and therefore this question arose, i.e., the issue of giving a definite and clear assurance to the minorities. "We have done it; we have passed a resolution that the minorities must be protected and safeguarded to the fullest extent, and as I said before any civilized Government will do it and ought to do it. So far as we are concerned our own history, our Prophet have given the clearest proof that the non-Muslims have been treated not only justly and fairly but generously". Coming to a later stage the late Quaid-i-Azam wrote as follows in a letter addressed to Gandhiji in August, 1944. That was in connection with the claim of the late Quaid-i-Azam that Muslims were not a community but a nation. He said, Sir, and the letter contains the following portion: "The Quran is a complete code of life. It provides for all matters, religious or social, civil or criminal, military or penal, economic or commercial. It regulates every act, speech and movement from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life, from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of individual; from punishment here to that in the life to come".

Thereafter, Sir, in 1945, in his Id message, the late Quaid-i-Azam said—

"Every Mussalman knows that the Quran is not confined to religious and moral duties only. The Quran is the dearest possession of the Muslims and their general code of life, religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal and penal code."

Sir, these are the statements made before the achievement of Pakistan. There was a clear understanding created amongst those who fought for Pakistan and amongst those who were likely to be citizens of Pakistan. There was no ambiguity in it.

Then, Sir, it is said that Quaid-i-Azam after the achievement of Pakistan changed his views. It is attempted to be interpreted in that way because he said that after achievement of Pakistan the Muslims will not be Muslims and Hindus will not be Hindus and like that. But that has got also to be interpreted in the very words in which he made the statement. Sir, I would like to read two or three lines from the

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Quaid-i-Azam's speech on the inauguration of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on the 14th August, 1947. He said :

"The tolerance and goodwill that great Emperor Akbar showed to the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back 13 centuries ago when our Prophet not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians after he had conquered them with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faiths and beliefs. The whole history of Muslims wherever they ruled is replete with these humane and great principles which have to be followed and practised."

Not for nothing he made references to the Quran and the Prophet. It had some meaning and this meaning must be clear to all concerned. Now, Sir, it has been suggested that the constitution has provided certain matters which are not consistent with the present-day policy of the world. Some have said that the hand of the clock has been taken backward; that the State of Pakistan has been taken to the 7th century because Islamic ideals and ideology have been incorporated in it. I would respectfully submit, Sir, that taking it for granted that according to those who are labouring under a misapprehension and misconception about Islam this is a retrograde movement, my reply to them is that if the world is going on a wrong track, it is better to take a few steps backward and then to go on to the right path, not to allow the world and far less Pakistan to go and tread on the same wrong path. Take the example of a train. When a train is shunted back, it is obvious that the train is receding or going back, but it takes this course only to go on to the right line. This is shunting of the entire world ideology. But it is not so here. Islam should not be judged by the actions and conduct of people like ourselves. Islam must be judged from its pristine glory. Look at the history of Islam, look at their administration, look at the high sense of justice, and all the noble qualities that go to make a man, a real man, and see whether Islam has preached any ideology or any principle which is not loved and respected by the humanity at large. We are now a sort of NIM-MUSALMAN. It reminds me of one of the stories written by Ghalib. When after the Mutiny there were reckless arrests of Muslims,—some of the Muslims changed their dress just to evade arrest—Mirza Sahib was called by one Col. Brown. He went there with a sola hat on. He was asked : "Are you a Muslim?" He replied "Half, Sir". Then, Col. Brown asked : "How can you be a half Muslim?" He said : "Sir, I take wine but not bacon". That was the reply and Col. Brown was highly pleased and he was let off. So, Sir, we have become half Musalmans. Therefore, all the ideals of Islam and all the duties about which we speak from platform have become a sort of red rag to us. Well, it is never the intention of those who support this Islamic character of the State that overnight the changeover will come. Not that; it may take 10, 20 or 50 years before we reach our goal, but the goal must be set. Aspirations must be incorporated there and let it be worked gradually according to the circumstances and according to the nature of the people. Islam has never been cruel in any matter. It has always been liberal and that liberal policy we follow which will attract even those who do not like the idea of making the State an Islamic one; and after all what has the Report suggested to make this State Islamic? It has not gone beyond what has been the corner-stone of the Constitution, viz., the Objectives Resolution. Objectives Resolution has laid down, Sir, very clearly :—

"Wherein the principles . . . . ."

I only read the relevant portion :

"Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed."

I underline the words "as enunciated by the Islam". Well, various people, various nations may have various interpretations about democracy, but the Muslims have got their own interpretation about democracy and that is as enunciated by Islam. That has been the foundation-stone of this Constitution. Now, Sir, in moving this Resolution, the late Quaid-i-Millat said in the following words :—

"I consider this to be a most important occasion in the life of this country, next in importance only to the achievement of Independence because by the achievement of Independence, we have only won an opportunity of building up a country and its quality in accordance with our ideals. I would like to remind the House that the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam, gave expression to his feelings on this matter on many an occasion."

As I have read out to this House, Sir, from extracts from his letters and speech, his views were endorsed by the Nation in unmistakable terms. Pakistan was founded because the Muslims of this sub-continent wanted to mould their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam because they wanted to demonstrate to the world that Islam provides a panacea to the many diseases which have crept into the life of humanity today. So, Sir, the picture of the Constitution of Pakistan was delineated in very clear language by the mover of the Objectives Resolution and there should not be any two opinions as to the incorporation of these ideas and ideals in the Constitution. If it is so this should be considered as re-opening the fight against Pakistan. This is the second battle for Pakistan. (*Here! here!*) Pakistan was not achieved for a few Ministers or for seven and a half crore of people to live in a land which has been carved out of the big sub-continent of India, but, Sir, it was carved out, as I have said, on the definite and positive assurance and understanding that in this laboratory the principles of Islam will be worked and the results will be made public not only for the benefit of the people of Pakistan, but for the benefit of the people at large outside Pakistan. That was the claim, Sir, and now, if we recede from that, it will be a betrayal of the trust reposed by the Nation in the Muslim League, and to the Muslim League leaders' assurances. When these assurances were given, the millions of Muslims who had nothing to do with politics who, had nothing to do with the Western form of living and all that, accepted them sincerely and genuinely. A large number of Muslim League leaders who spoke from the platforms and through the Press sincerely gave these assurances. The Quaid-i-Azam gave the assurances more sincerely because he had repeated and repeated those assurances on several occasions to prove his intentions and to prove that he was clear and sincere in his declarations. Now to say and interpret that those assurances were only bluff, is nothing more than a shameful condemnation of ourselves and of our mentality. The assurances were given sincerely. They were accepted by the teeming millions very sincerely and it is now up to us to give effect to them.

Then, Sir, it may be said that the Musalmans may shape their lives as they like, they may have their own ideology according to their wishes and other citizens of the country professing other religions may shape their own conduct and may follow their own religion as they like. But about that also the Quaid-i-Millat said emphatically in moving the Objectives Resolution. He said :

"Sir, that the State is not to play the part of only a neutral observer wherein the Muslims may be merely free to profess and practise their religion because such an attitude on the part of the State would be the very negation of the ideals which prompted the demand of Pakistan and it is these ideals which should be the corner stone of the State which you want to build. The State will create such conditions as are conducive to the building up of a truly Islamic society which means that the State will have to play a positive part in this effort."

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You would remember, Sir, that the Quaid-i-Azam and other leaders of the Muslims always made unequivocal declarations that the Muslims' demand for Pakistan was based upon the fact that Muslims had a way of life and a code of conduct.

So, Sir, there is no going back. We have to incorporate in the Constitution such provisions which will implement all these ideas, all these assurances and this has been done in the report. I have no very strong opinion with regard to the details which have been suggested here. After all even at the time of suggesting those details, there was difference of opinion amongst the members of the Basic Principles Committee. But the fundamental part which has been purposely incorporated, the substantive part of the report is to be found in clause 3. Clause 3 of the Report states: "No legislature should enact any law which is repugnant to the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah*". This is a fundamental thing, that has been provided in the substantive portion of the report because if these were left in the Directive Principles then the object with which this State was founded could not have been achieved. Therefore, Sir, I submit that apart from the wisdom of putting this clause in the substantive part of the report, the question as to how we can give effect to the ideology of Pakistan, to the assurances given, to those who have made great sacrifices should be considered by this House. We know of the large and very great sacrifices made by the millions of Muslims of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. What was the urge that made them make these great sacrifices? Lakhs and lakhs of people were killed and lakhs and lakhs were made homeless. They lost all their properties; they lost their children, their wives, their mothers and sisters. What was the idea that made them mad and unless they turned mad, Pakistan could not have been achieved. And now are we going to forget all these sacrifices only because there is the apprehension that the world outside, that the European countries, the American countries, may not feel happy over our attitude? I do not know what will make them happy—nothing less than an abject slavery will make any other nation happy. So, if anybody suggests that this is a very difficult provision, I would say that it is not difficult so far as injunctions of the Quran and *Sunnah* are concerned. They are not very many. In very small matters, one has not to consult any Alim or any other person who is supposed to be well-versed in Islamic laws. But it is only on fundamental matters where such consultation may be necessary. With regard to the provisions incorporated in clauses 4, 5, 6, etc. of the report, I have not got very strong opinion about them. This was only a device suggested by the members of the Committee for giving effect to the provision of clause 3. If any other better device is suggested that may be accepted. This Board which has been mischievously called "Mulla Board" has not got special fascination for me. No mention of Mulla or Alim or Ulema is to be found in this Report, nothing of the sort. The wordings were, Sir, that a Board consisting of five members well-versed in Islamic laws something like that. . . . . Whether it is in 6. . . . .

**An Honourable Member:** Yes, it is in 6.

**Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya** (East Bengal: General): Look into the Assembly debates.

"6. (1) The Head of the Unit should constitute, for a period of five years, a Board consisting of not more than five persons well versed in Islamic Laws."

This, by no stretch of imagination, excludes any non-Muslims who cannot be members of this Board.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan** (Punjab : Muslim) : So it is really devised to get those people in who cannot be otherwise elected.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin** : So, Sir, that was the idea, but as this has come under criticism, because this clause was wrongly named as the Mullah Board clause, even the Ulema themselves are not willing to have this Board at all. There may be some other means ; there may be the normal way of finding out the scope of a legislation. So this is not a very important matter, which should create any headache for any member, but the main thing is that any legislation against the Quran and the *Sunnah* cannot be passed in the State of Pakistan. That must be there, otherwise there is no meaning in claiming that we are going to have a State of our own, in which the Islamic ideology, Islamic way of life, Islamic jurisprudence, social justice, equality, this, that and the other will be practised here, unless you have this fundamental thing.

Now, Sir, comes the question of the composition of the Houses. That part has also come under fire by different Members of this House. It has been admitted by those who have criticised the formula that a Federation is necessary in this country. We cannot have a unitary system of Government, because of the fact that the Provinces are enjoying provincial autonomy from the time of foreign rulers, and it will be a very difficult job—and perhaps retrograde move—to decimate these Provinces and to have a unitary Government here ; so Federation is the only alternative and the report presents the form of Federation. It has been suggested that in a Federation there need not be any second Chamber. I would most respectfully ask my honourable friends who have made this charge to point out to a single Federation in the world which has not got the second Chamber—a single Federation. The Federal system of Government pre-supposes a second Chamber. I am subject to correction. Those who nod their heads will please correct me as to which is that Federation where the second Chamber does not exist. It has been said this was a very old, old practice and that recent Federations do not have any second Chamber. Which is the recent Federation ? Let us come to India ; that perhaps is the latest Federation. What have they done ? They have got a federal system of Government and they have got two Chambers : the House of the People and the House of the States. They have got the second Chamber. So I challenge this statement because much time has been spent on this argument that the second Chamber is a device to reduce the majority of East Bengal to minority ; something like that. This is sheer propaganda. Those Honourable Members who made out this point could not cite a single instance from the world's history that a Federation exists without a second Chamber. There is nothing like that. So, Sir, as soon as you accept the federal system of Government you have got to accept also the provision of a second Chamber. It is not a device ; it is a thing which follows Federation.

Sir, Ireland, Canada, Australia, South Africa, United States of America and, last of all India, all these countries have got the second Chamber. This is not a new thing. Whatever is done in Pakistan there is a section of people who will find some fault with that ; they will say, "there must be something else in it". Even if we fall in line with the entire world there will be some people who will say, "that is not the right thing".

In providing the second Chamber, the authors of the report have only followed the generally and universally accepted principle of Federation, nothing more than that.

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Then comes the question of the constitution, the composition, of the two Houses. Sir, as far as my limited knowledge goes, I have not been able to find any Constitution in the world, which is exactly the same as the other. The Constitutions of different countries have been framed according to their needs, according to their genius, according to expediency. No two Constitutions in the world are alike. There may be some general principles, but there is no uniform rule. In the composition of the Upper House some countries have followed equal representation, some have followed unequal representation, some countries have followed representation in the Upper House by nomination, some by election, some countries have followed election by indirect method, some by direct method. No two Constitutions can be pointed out to be similar. If the general principles of all the Federal Constitutions have been incorporated in the report with such variations as are called for under the circumstances of Pakistan, I do not think that it deserves the criticism which has been levelled against the scheme.

The first and foremost consideration in making this suggestion was the interest of Pakistan and I consider that the interest of Pakistan as a whole must always be put before the interest of the Units. There is no question about that. Pakistan was achieved as one country by one nation and by one organisation. We cannot forego and we cannot give a go-by to that feeling of oneness. The day we begin to think in terms of separatism, that will be the doom for Pakistan.

Sir, there are people who think in terms of confederation. They think that the Lahore Resolution which gave a sort of an inkling of the two zonal independent States, should be given effect to. One has got to take into consideration the time factor between the Lahore Resolution and the achievement of Pakistan. The idea behind that resolution was to include the whole of Bengal in the Eastern Zone with Assam and the whole of Punjab and the rest which now comprises Western Pakistan, including Kashmir State, in the Western Zone. That was the idea when the Lahore Resolution was passed, but what did we get? In the words of the late Quaid-i-Azam, we got a truncated Pakistan, not the Pakistan which was envisaged in the Lahore Resolution, but a truncated Pakistan, and this very fact alone is sufficient to abandon the idea of two independent States. East Bengal with a load of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  crores of population, has no area to expand. I do not see how it is possible for those, who think in terms of two independent states, to think of East Bengal existing as an independent state, unless they in their heart of hearts feel that by doing so they shall make East Bengal a satellite of India. Of course, then that is possible. The less we think in terms of a confederation the better it is for all of us in Pakistan.

Now, Sir, we have got to frame a constitution which should inspire confidence among the people of both the zones and for that purpose certain figures have been prepared, as this can be achieved only by figures. That is not the main consideration. The main consideration is that we must all work for the consolidation of Pakistan. We must have the same idea which imbibed us at the time of Lahore Resolution, that we must have a Pakistan of our own, so that the people irrespective of their place of birth or place of residence must have a common ideal, must have a common state of their own and must work together hand-in-hand. That was the ideal that was kept before those who framed the formula which has been published in the Press and placed before the House by the Honourable Prime Minister.



Sir, it is within the knowledge of everybody that on account of this difference of opinion between East Bengal and West Pakistan in the matter of composition of the Houses, the work of constitution-making was stopped. It came to a standstill. Whatever may be the reasons and whoever were in the wrong, I am not going into that question, but the fact remains that we could not proceed. The deadlock, which was created on account of the difference and which has persisted for the last few months, is working as a dead weight on the nation. The nation is going to lose confidence in the leaders, in those who are at the helm of the Administration. They have been disappointed and frustrated; one has got to realize that those who have the love of the country at their hearts must find out some solution of the tangle. It has been done and it has been hailed all over the country, except those who do not see eye to eye with the Muslim League and I know the reason. They are those people who opposed Pakistan; they are, again, those people who do not want that there should be a strong Pakistan and that constitution should take another step to make it stronger. I have read in the Press that a meeting was held in Dacca, which was attended by several parties. I will just name those persons, rather parties who are said to have rejected this formula. The meeting was addressed by representatives of the Jinnah Awami League, the Communist Party, the Krishak Sramik Party, the Gangatari Dal, the Khilafat-i-Rabbani Party and ex-Finance Minister, Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhry and it was presided over by the former Bengal Premier, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. All these disgruntled gentlemen and organisations, which are ideologically opposed to Pakistan have joined hands and are trying to gather strength against the Muslim League. I am sure the people of Pakistan, far more the people of East Bengal, are quite conscious of their duties and their obligations and their rights. They can understand who are their friends and who are not. They know who have achieved Pakistan, which is the organisation which has given millions of Muslims a State of their own. I am sure that such combination of these heterogenous elements will not cut any ice with the people of East Bengal.

Sir, it does not take any time to give a description of these gentlemen. When the entire nation, consisting of ten crores of Muslims was behind the Muslim League Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq did not join the Muslim League in the elections of 1946. That was an election on Pakistan issue. Although there was a success of 97 per cent. for the Muslim League in East Bengal in the elections to the Provincial Assembly, he and a few others—two or three persons—did not join the popular organisation. And, the less said about Mr. Hamidul Huq the better.

Then the Communist Party: what is their ideology everybody knows—a godless ideology which is contrary to Islam. If God has got to be brought again in this mundane earth, it is only Islam which can do it. God has been banished by Communist Russia. There is hankering in European countries for bringing back God to the mundane world. What is this Moral Rearmament Movement? They have started the Moral Re-armament Movement because people are going far and far from the path of religion, from the path of spiritual ideology. The entire world is now smarting under materialistic powers. They are chafing and groaning. It is only Islam which can rescue them from these sufferings.

Sir, it has been suggested that the Upper House has been given more powers. So far as powers are concerned, certain powers have been given according to the formula to the joint House—neither to the Lower House nor to the Upper House. Certain other powers—legislative measures—are equal as are to be found in many other countries. Even in

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undivided Bengal the Upper House had independent power with regard to legislation. That is also to be found in various other federal systems of Government. The only deviation that has been made is that certain power has been given to the joint House and that is, as I have said, to create a feeling of confidence amongst all sections of the people, amongst all people living in different parts of Pakistan, in the constitution of Pakistan. And, I think that no sacrifice for achieving that end is too great. We must first of all see that Pakistan's foundations are made strong; that there is no fissiparous tendency to weaken the foundations of Pakistan.

Then, Sir, comes the question of autonomy which has been raised by some of the members. So far as Provincial autonomy is concerned, I have always held the view that provinces should be given the maximum autonomy. The Central Government should not be undermined but still there are many subjects which can be assigned to the Provincial Governments for administration. In the Committee stage I had also my difference of opinion and I shall try to express my opinion both in this House and elsewhere. I feel that without affecting the integrity of Pakistan, a larger number of subjects can be given to the provinces. That would be good both for the Centre and the provinces. It is difficult for the Central Government to administer many subjects from here—from the seat of the Federal Capital. The secretariat, the staff and the Ministers who cannot have a first-hand knowledge of the difficulties and sufferings of the people on those matters cannot dispose of things quickly and properly from the seat of the Central Government. So far as East Bengal is concerned, the geographical position has got to be given a special consideration. It has been found very very difficult by experience of these six years that some subjects which can easily and without affecting the authority of the Central Government be transferred to the Provincial Governments, could not be dealt with properly and quickly as they could have been done if the subjects were administered by the Provincial Governments.

I am also in favour of having one list instead of having three lists. Make one list of subjects for the Central Government and no more. The rest of the subjects will be administered by the provinces. We had three lists in the Government of India Act; we have suggested three lists in the report; but I think the best course would be to have only one list, namely, subjects to be administered by the Central Government and there should not be any other list.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Datta :** Provinces must have funds to administer the subjects.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** The question is as the responsibilities will be transferred the sources of revenue will follow. That goes without saying. If the responsibilities are transferred the sources of revenue will also follow.

Now, certain references have been made with regard to the language question and I was surprised that Honourable Members of this House who know the history of the language could raise this question at this stage. After a resolution which was adopted by this House, the Basic Principles Committee had no jurisdiction to make any recommendation with regard to the language. It was decided by this House that the question of language will be taken up when the report is taken up. So

this has got to be considered by this House as a proposal or an amendment. The report could not have contained this recommendation. So this issue was out of place. We stand by that resolution which was passed by this House, and I am sure the time will come when the members of this House will give due weight to the claim and sentiments of the people of East Bengal and a solution, as we have been able to find with regard to other matters, will be found for the language also. Sir, there was another point on which most of the time of the Honourable Members belonging to the Opposition was taken that is with regard to the separate electorates. This very question was discussed threadbare and a full-dress discussion lasting for several days took place in this House, when separate electorate was acceded to the Scheduled Castes on account of their demand. You might have noticed that the other day Mr. Bhandara, who belongs to the Scheduled Castes.....

**Shri Dharendra Nath Datta:** He is not a Scheduled Caste. He belongs to minority community.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin:** Yes, I am sorry. I withdraw.

**Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya:** He is a Parsi.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin:** May be a Parsi but he belongs to minority community.....

**Shri Dharendra Nath Datta:** He does not belong to East Bengal.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin:** ..... has welcomed separate electorate. The provision of separate electorates is made for the benefit of the minority community; but I know, Sir, I shall not be able to convince these honourable gentlemen here about the justice and fairness of separate electorates because they have got a set idea about that. But I am speaking for the people at large and outside this hall. I am sure that no amount of reasoning, no amount of argument, however cogent it may be, will be able to remove the prejudice from their mind against separate electorates. But there are minority people who demand separate electorates. These gentlemen are not the people who represent the entire minority community.

*(Interruption from Congress Benches).*

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin:** They do not represent the entire minority community. Here, Sir, you will find that the scheduled castes who have come in this House have come with a certain mandate from the Congress and some of them are stooges of the Congress people. They have come here by the votes of Caste Hindus who are against separate electorates.

**Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Datta (East Bengal: General):** It is only worthy of Mr. Nurul Amin to say so!

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin:** Sir, only the other day there was a meeting in Dinajpur.....

**A Congress Member:** He can engineer such things.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin:** If I can engineer things then I must be a super-human being; let me have that satisfaction.

*(Interruption).*

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin:** The motive behind the giving of separate electorates is far from creating division amongst Hindus. It is the demand of Scheduled Castes. It is for the creation of better scope for progress of the scheduled castes community which has been so long kept backward and down-trodden.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Datta :** When was that meeting held ?

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** It was on the 11th of October.

**Mr. Prem Hari Barma :** It was after the publication of this formula. It may be a meeting of Mr. D. N. Barori.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** He is the President of the Scheduled Caste Federation.

**Several Members from Congress Benches :** Stooze ! stooze !

**Mr. Prem Hari Barma :** There was no meeting of the Federation.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** But he is the President of the Scheduled Caste Federation.

**Some Members from Congress Benches :** No, no. Only the Chief Minister of East Bengal can say so.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** There was this meeting and they demanded separate electorates. Besides, Sir, I can cite chapter and verse from the discussion of separate electorates a few months back in this House. I can take hours and hours on that and I can prove to the satisfaction of my honourable friends that even the Caste Hindus wanted separate electorates. There was a meeting in Chittagong presided over by a Caste Hindu gentleman and in his presidential speech, which I think I have got with me at home he asked for separate electorates. He said joint electorates with the Muslims.....

**Shri Dharendra Nath Datta :** There was no meeting.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** ..... will rather create difficulties for us. In India what has happened. There is the joint electorate but what is the result ; everybody knows that.

**Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Datta :** They say they are happy.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** You say they are happy but the Muslims in India have been made the subject-matter of rioting in election booths. I do not want—Muslims do not want,—here that the non-Muslims, who must have effective protection from the Government should be made the pawns in the fight between Muslims and Muslims. They should not be utilized for that purpose. You should have your independent entity and existence. You should send your best men to the Assemblies and you should not be made a pawn in the chess-board of political game in the Muslim politics. That is why separate electorate is far better than joint electorate.

**Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty (East Bengal : General) :** God save us from such friends.

**Shri Bhupendra Kumar Datta :** Now the cat is out of the bag.

**Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer (Sind : Muslim) :** Where is the cat ?

**Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Datta :** It is sitting there on that bench.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** Sir, the cat seems to have gone after the mice. It has been said by one of the members that so long as separate electorates exist, the minorities will be dwarfed. They will be converted into imbecilities. Separate electorate scheme is being acted upon for about more than 40 years. In 1909 separate electorate was first introduced and this is being worked out till to-day. Have you got any sign of imbecility amongst the Members of the minority community, Sir ? Rather, they are more energetic than the Members on this side. They have roared in the House at the top of their voices ; they have cried hoarse.....

**Shri Dharendra Nath Datta :** Only ineffective voice.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** You have seen how far they have been made imbecile and if this system of separate electorates is continued they will become more and more energetic and they will be able to put forward their views in stronger voices.....

**Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty :** God save us from our friends.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** As soon as joint electorates will be introduced they will be made pawn in the game of Muslim politics ; they will become imbecile ; they will become docile. Now if you listen to them they have the attraction of the whole House, the attraction of the press, the attraction of the world, as they speak at the top of their voices.

**Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty :** Only as show-boys.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** You are not show-boys. So far as the effectiveness of your voice is concerned it is not because you belong to the minority community and there is separate electorate but because you belong to opposition that you do not have that force in it. Come to this side ; there is no bar to it ; where is the bar ?

**Several Members from Congress Benches :** Oh ! oh.

**Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty :** We have to be Muslims first.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** When you have chosen your path. . . . .

**President :** Order, please.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** Then you must be prepared for all that goes with it. Well you belong to the Opposition and it is due to your own choice.

**Mr. President :** Mr. Nurul Amin ! please address the Chair.

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** Yes. Sir, I am addressing the Chair.

I was only looking at them. I was looking at them, but I was addressing the Chair.

**Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya :** It is 1 p.m. now.

**Mr. President :** Will you be able to finish ?

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** Sir, I will require some more time.

**Mr. President :** How much time ?

**The Honourable Mr. Nurul Amin :** Say, half an hour more.

**Mr. President :** Then, I think, we better adjourn now.

The House stands adjourned till 11 a.m., on Monday next.

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The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock, on Monday, the 19th October, 1953.



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The Ambassador of Pakistan Kabul c/o. Post Master Peshawar.

The High Commissioner for Pakistan in Australia, Dalton House 115, Pitt Street, Sydney, Australia.

The Ambassador of Pakistan, Rander House Phavre Street, Rangoon Burmah.

The High Commissioner for Pakistan 499, Wilbord Street, Ottawa, Canada.

The Embassy of Pakistan, Pakistan House, 11, Sharia Hodel Laban, Garden City, Cairo, Egypt.

The High Commissioner for Pakistan, 8, B, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi.

The Embassy of Pakistan in 15, Dialan Tanku Umar, Diakarta.

The Embassy of Pakistan, Khiaban Takhte Jamshed Kashi No. 276, Tehran, Iran.

The Embassy of Pakistan, Wazirva Baghdad, Iraq.

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The Minister of Pakistan Abu Roumanch Damascus.

The Ambassador of Pakistan, 41, Karanfil Sokaka, Yanisehir, Ankara, Turkey.

The High Commissioner for Pakistan, 34/36, Lowndes Square, London, S. W. 1.

The Ambassador of Pakistan, 2201. R. Street, North-West Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

The Embassy of Pakistan, 17, Sadovekudrinskava Street, Moscow, U. S. S. R.

The Ambassador of Pakistan 18, Rue Loard Byron, Paris, France.

The Embassy of Pakistan, Plien 1813, No. 3, The Hauge, Netherlands.

The Minister of Pakistan, 15, Via Guisenpe, Mangili, Rome, Italy.

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